Buddhism in Bengal since the Muḥammadan Conquest.—By HARA PRASĀDA ÇĀSTRĪ, M. A.

[Read January 1895.]

Whatever might have been the fate of Buddhism in other parts of India, in the Provinces of Eastern India, it had to suffer serious persecution, nay, it may be said, that Buddhism was expelled from Eastern India by fire and sword. In making excavations at Kuçīnagara ashes were discovered after a certain depth, plainly indicating that fire was one of the agencies employed in the expulsion of Buddhism.\(^1\) At Sārnāth in Benares, the excavations laid open cook-rooms containing half-boiled rice rotting there for centuries.\(^2\) The catastrophe was so sudden that the poor Bhikṣus could not even complete their meals. Sir A. Cunningham quotes two passages, one from Tibetan and another from Muḥammadan sources, to shew that at the last Buddhist capital of Bihār, Bakhtiyár Khiljī put a large number of shaven Brāhmaṇs, i. e., Buddhist Bhikṣus assembled at a monastery, to the sword.\(^3\)

All these facts plainly shew that fire and sword were employed in the destruction of Buddhism in Eastern India. But who employed them? In the case of Ōdantapurī, the last capital of Bihār, it was certainly the Muḥammadans, and presumably in other cases also, they were the destroyers. The Hindū mode of persecuting Buddhists, was quite different. It was persecution and annoyance, and not destruction, Çaçāŋka cut down the Bō tree. Udayana held a disputation with the life of his Buddhist antagonist at stake. Gaŋgēçōpādhyāya wrote his great work on Logic with the express object of xauquaaahaahaaliau i.e., for dispelling the darkness created by powerful heretics; and Udayana wrote a work entitled Bauddha-dhikkāra, or, 'Fie on the Buddhists!' Another Hindū revivalist prohibited the sounding of

¹ Rep. Arch. Sur., Ind., Vol. XVIII, pp. 62-63.

² The same, Vol. I, pp. from 126 to 130.

³ The same, Vol. XI, p. 185.

⁴ The same, Vol. III, pp. 80-81.

⁶ Gaure Brahman, p. 102-105.

the bell at Buddhist Vihāras, till he was worsted in disputation.¹ This is the Hiudū way of persecution. The Sēna rājās of Bengal used to grant lands to Brāhmaṇs bordering on Buddhist Vihāras, thus setting up a perpetual source of annoyance to the inmates of the monastery.² Ridicule was one of the powerful weapons used by the Hindūs in annoying the Buddhists, who were held up in dramas like the Prabōdha Candrōdaya, as great libertines, fond of wine and women. In later Tantras too, Buddha and his followers are regarded as men of pleasure. Their method of obtaining spiritual success, was by means of wine and women. In the Cīnācāra-tantra Tantra, Vaçiṣṭhā is sent to China for obtaining success by means of the Tārā-mantra from Buddha, who lived surrounded by women in China. This is annoyance and teasing, but not destruction.

Assuming, therefore, that the Muhammadan conquest dealt a death blow to the expiring efforts of Buddhism in Eastern India, it may be asked, was the destruction of Buddhism caused by Muhammadan conquest complete? People think it to be so, but this is physically impossible. The Muhammadan conquest itself was not a complete conquest, the Pāthāns held the country simply in military occupation. They held some of the big cities and left the rest of the country to govern itself the best it could. It was not possible for them to destroy Buddhism all over the country. Then again, it is difficult to say that the conquerors could distinguish between Hinduism and Buddhism. They were iconoclasts. They destroyed idols, no matter whether they were Hindū or Buddhist. In fact, the pressure of the conquest was felt by both Hindus and Buddhists alike. The Brāhmaus from Rārh and Varendra flocked to Vikramapura,3 the last stronghold of the Sēna rājās, and up to this date there are more Rārhī Brāhmans at that remote corner of Bengal than in Rārha itself, especially the higher class Kulīns. drive away Brāhmans and to destroy a few families is one thing, but quite another thing is the wholesale massacre of Buddhist monks, assembled in central Vihāras during the Vassō. If one single monastery is destroyed with all its monks, a whole district, nay, even a larger area, will be without religious leaders and religious teachers altogether. A few cases of massacre like that at Odantapuri, would leave the entire Buddhist population of Bengal and Bihar without leaders. One would be disposed to account for the existence of a vast Muhammadan population in the Districts of Bengal, amounting to 25 millions



¹ Travels in the Western World, translated from Chinese by Beal, Vol. II.

² Gaurē Brāhman, p. 281, line XII.

³ See the article Kulina in the Viçva Keşa.

of people, by the easy conversion of the Buddhist population after the destruction of their monasteries.

The helpless Buddhists would naturally be inclined more to Muḥammadanism, which has no restriction of food, &c., than to Hinduism, which imposes thousands of restrictions on every action of life.

But was Buddhism actually effaced from the soil of Bengal and Bihār? People think so, but there were traces of Buddhism till very lately. A Kāyastha belonging to Magadha, copied a Buddhist MS. in 1446, The MS. is now at Cambridge. That shews signs of lingering Buddhism. Dr. Hoey has discovered an inscription at Sēt, dated in the thirteenth century, dedicating a temple to the Buddha.2 Buddhist monks were at Bodh Gaya so late as 1331. The Bodh Gaya temple was repaired by a king of Arakan in 1305. A biographer of Caitanya, named Cudāmani Dāsa, makes Buddhists rejoice at the birth of Caitanya. One of the great millionaires of Sātgāő in Caitanya's time, belonging to the Sonārbaniā caste, refuses to accept Vaisnavism on the ground that he would not like to be saved, when the whole world round him is plunged in misery.3 This is pure Buddhistic sentiment absolutely unknown to the Hindus. Çulapāņi, writing after the Muhammadan conquest, makes the very sight of a Buddhist an occasion for performing expiatory ceremonies. The word of the text he quotes is Nagna, or naked, which he explains as Bauddhādayah. How could he explain that word that way if there were no Buddhists in his country?

These facts will lead to one conclusion that traces of Buddhism were to be found so late as Caitanya's time. In speaking of Buddhism I do not take into consideration the fact of the Buddha's being regarded as the ninth incarnation of Visnu, for in that case all Hindus would be in one sense, Buddhists. No trace of Buddhism has been found after Caitanya's time.

It seems, however, surprising that a religion which existed in Eastern India in such splendour from 600 B.C. to 1200 A.D., should be so utterly destroyed that no vestige of its existence could be found anywhere in Bengal at this day only 700 years after its final overthrow. But fortunately it is not so. A sort of corrupt Buddhism mixed up with a variety of Aryan and non-Aryan forms of worship, still obtains in Bengal amongst a very large number of lower class people. Of the various castes inhabiting Bengal, Pōms never acknowledge the Pom superiority of Brāhmaṇs. They get all the religious ceremonies of the

¹ See Catalogue of Buddhist Sanskrit MSS. in the University Library, Cambridge, Preface, p. 4 and Book, pp. 69-70.

² See pp. 70-71 of the Sharqī Architecture of Jaunpur, Vol. I.

³ Rep. Arch. Surv., III, pp. 104-105.

caste, performed by pandits of the Dom tribe, and these Doms are the constituted Purohitas of Dharma, a deity whom I venture to identify with Buddha-deva. One of the names of Buddha is Dharma-rāja, and this is precisely the name by which the deity Dharma is spoken of by his worshippers. The ancient Bengali literature consists of works describing the way in which different deities manifested themselves in this world and the way their worship became prevalent. I have elsewhere given an account of the prevalence of the worship of Manasā, or Goddess of serpents. There are works also describing how the deity Dharma-rāja manifested himself, and how his worship became prevalent.

According to Ghana-rāma who wrote in 1710 his magnificent work the *Çrī-dharma-maŋgala*, on this subject, his work is based on two previous works, one by Rūpa-rāma and another by Mayūra-bhaṭṭa. All these again are said to be based on the Hākanda-purāṇa. My enquiries have led to the fact that works of Rūpa-rāma and Mayūra-bhaṭṭa are still extant, but I have not yet succeeded in getting copies of these works.

The story as given by Ghana-rāma, is this. The son of the great king of Gauda, Dharma-pāla, had appointed his brother-in-law Mahāmada, as his minister. Mahā-mada had another sister named Rañjā, for whom he had a dislike, but she was a special favourite of Dharmarāja. Mahā-mada tries in various ways to destroy his sister's son, Lāu-sēn, but Dharma always protects him. Lāu-sēn is persecuted in various ways, but all these persecutions fail. Lau-seen is then sent to lead arduous expeditions against distant countries, such as Kāma-rūpa and Orissa. In all of these Dharma makes him successful. Mahā-mada at last comes to his senses and takes his nephew into favour. Kālu Dom, Lau-sen's favorite general, becomes the constituted Purohita of Dharma and obtains the privilege of being allowed to drink wine and eat hog's flesh. Dharma is described as superior to Brahmā, Viṣṇu, and Mahēçvara, and as having Hanumat as his great general. Ghaṇa-rāma's work is a lengthy one, it repays perusal both as a work of poetic art and as embodying curious informaton about ancient Bengal.

The great Buddhist monarch Dharma-pāla, is very well known. He was the first great monarch of the Pāla Dynasty, who were Buddhists. It is also known that he conquered Gauda and led expeditions to Kāma-rūpa, where also a branch of this dynasty ruled for a long time. It is probable that Buddhism mixed up with some aboriginal form of worship, gave rise to a new form of worship, namely, that of Dharma during the ascendency of the Pāla Dynasty in Bengal, and that it being suited to the genius of the people, obtained a currency which

still lasts. That Buddhism has a wonderful aptitude in assimilating various forms of Demon and other worships, is well known from the history of Buddhism in Nēpāl and Tibet. The Dharma worship appears to be a similar assimilation of some old-world superstition with Buddhism.

My recent investigations into the mode of Dharma worship, during the Durgā pūjā holidays in the Sub-division of Cutwa, has added another link to the arguments for proving the identification of Dharma-rāja with the Buddha. There is a Dharma temple at Çuōngāchi near Pātuli, the priest of which belongs to the Mayarā caste. He was questioned about the method of worship, and his answers led to important results. He said cooked food is never offered to Dharma; this is precisely the case with Buddhist and Jaina idols. They are regarded as emancipated men and not deities. Any cooked food when eaten by men becomes impure, and so no cooked food is offered to them. Any caste may worship Dharma. The Dōms do worship him and often offer hog's flesh to him, but the Mantra by which Dharma is meditated upon, is very curious. It leaves no doubt that he is the Buddha.

यस्यान्तो नादिमध्यो नच करचरणं नान्ति कायनिदानम् नाकारं नादिरूपं नान्ति जन्मभ यस्य (ह्य जस्य ?)। यागीन्त्रो ज्ञानगम्यो सकलजनहितं सर्वलोकिकनायम् तत्त्वं तं च निरञ्जनं मरवरद पातु वः श्रून्यमूर्तिः॥

He who has no end, no beginning and no middle; he who has no neither hands nor legs, he who has no germ of body; he who has no form, no primordial form; he who has no birth; that Yōgīndra, approachable by knowledge, friendly to all men, one protector of all creatures, the truth, the spotless, the giver of boons to mortal men; whose form is Çūnya or void; may he protect you!

The word Yōgīndra applies to the Buddha, as he is called Munīndra in the Amarakōṣa. He is approachable by knowledge, while Hindū deities are approachable by devotion.

Most of these adjectives may, though by some stretch of imagination, apply to Çiva or Viṣṇu. But there is one which can never be applied to a Hindū deity and which is a peculiar attribute of the Buddha. This is Çūnya-mūrti, identifying him with void; this is what the Prajña Pāramitā teaches, and is what constitutes the peculiarity of Buddhist teaching that everything resolves itself into çūnya or void. The Sanskrit of the Mantra as obtained from the Mayarā priest, is perfectly ungrammatical, and so I tried to get another version of it from a different part of the country, and if possible from a higher

class man. This I succeeded in getting from a small village near the Rajbāndh station in Bankurā.

Though this version is nearer to grammatical Sanskrit, yet it contains one serious grammatical blunder, and though the form in which it is put, looks like the Dhyāna or Mantra for meditating on a Hindū deity by saying चिनायेत् ग्रन्थम्तों, I fail to understand how the mind can be fixed on a void without beginning and without end, without legs, without arms, without head, and so on. This is in fact an attempt to give to a high Buddhist spiritual conception, a Hindū personified form, and the attempt is a miserable failure. The Mantra too, appears to have been written by an ignorant man in some form of ancient Prākrit, which many have tried to put in a sanskritised form.

Many would not like to believe that this low worship, accompanied with the sacrifice of pigs, and with Dhyāna and other Hindū forms of worship, can have anything to do with Buddhism, whose first vow was to refrain from killing animals, and which in its earliest forms at least, did away with worship altogether. But that it is so, will appear from translations from the history of Buddhism, by Lama Tāranātha of Tibet, kindly made for me by Babu Çarat Chandra Dās, C. I. E. and appended to this article.

I beg to draw attention to one passage of this translation. 'He (the Dōmācārya) preached the Tāntrik doctrine of Buddhism, called Dharma, to the people of Tippera, and obtained numerous followers. Many among them became Siddhas too. He was then invited to the country of Rāḍha, called Rārā in the common language of the people. The Rājā of that country was a bigoted follower of Brāhmaṇs, but seeing the supernatural powers of Dōmācārya, and his goodness and learning, he became changed in his views, and henceforth the "Dharma" Buddhism, in its Tāntrik phase became greatly honored and followed by the people of Bengal, Rāḍha and Tippāra. By the worship of Dharma, is meant, that of the Buddhist deities, such as Vajra-yōginī; Vajra-vārāhī; Vajra-bhairava (Kṣētra-pāla); Vajra-ḍākinī; the Nātha, and so on. In fact, in the latter days of Buddhism, the Dik-pālas, Dharma-pālas and other spirit protectors of Buddhism, became the object of worship to the exclusion of the Buddhas and Bōdhisattvas.'

That Vajra-yōginī, Vajra-bhairavas, and other Buddhist Tāntrik deities used to be worshipped in Bengal, there is no doubt. Many of them are still worshipped in a Hindūized form. But Kṣētra-pāla is still worshipped under his proper name in a non-brahmanic form by low-caste priests. Kṣētra-pāla is represented by some tree. The earth on which it grows has the miraculous power of removing barrenness, and producing male children in one who gives birth to daughters only.

There is a Kṣētrapāla tree at Khaḍ-daha, eight miles from Calcutta, and another at Çingī, in Burdwan.

From very ancient times Buddhist monks used to dispense medicines; that was one of the sources of their influence, nay, of their income. The Dharma priests to this day do dispense medicine. They generally pretend to have received certain specifics for certain diseases from their deity, and if the patient with a devout mind, uses the medicine and pays the votive offering after cure, he is sure to get rid of the disease. The Çuōngāchi Dharma has a specific for diarrhæa. The Jāmālpur Dharma cures not only diseases but grants whatever is desired of him. The Acalēçvara Dharma has a specific for bilious eruptions, and so on.

APPENDIX.

Extract from pages 11 to 14 of "Bkah babs bdun."—By Lama Tārānātha of Tibet.

(TRANSLATED BY Ç'RĪ ÇARAT CHANDRA DAS, C. I. E.)

Tantrik Buddhism called Dharma (or Chhos in Tibetan.)

During the reign of King Rāma-pāla, the Buddhist Tāntrik Sage, Virūpa, after visiting Sōmanātha in Saurāṣṭra, came to Magadha, and there worked in the cause of Dharma (Buddhism) for the good of all living beings. He was greatly venerated by the people. On one occasion when the king was engaged in a war with the Muḥammadan Tājiks, the Tāntrik charms of this sage are said to have done him much service. One of the elephants of Rāma-pāla, named Bhanvadala, drank the water that was sanctified by the touch of the feet of the sage, in consequence of which it returned from the field of battle after killing one hundred Muḥammadan warriors. From Magadha, Virūpa proceeded towards the East and came to the country of Gauḍa. There one of the Tājik kings gave him much trouble. The king, it is said, saw a Yōgī sitting near his pillow touching his head. Awaking from sleep he caused Virūpa to be brought to his presence.

He caused him to be thrown into the river to be drowned, but in spite of the repeated attempts to kill him in that manner, he came out safely from the depths of water. He was then ordered to be burnt alive. The fire did not touch him, to the astonishment of all. Then sharp and pointed weapons were tried to kill him. These also failed to do him any harm. During the time he was kept in confinement, he is said to have been forced to subsist on poison: though six loads of it were consumed, yet the sage did not suffer the least injury from its effect. Lastly, for six days

¹ The name by which the Persians and Afghans are known to the Tibetans.

² It appears that the king killed 100 Mlecch Rajavamças or Rajputras, having gone to the field of battle mounted on the elephant.

and nights he was kept without food under strict watch: still he was found to be in good health. Finding that notwithstanding these tortures the sage grew brighter and more powerful than before, the king let him go. He was received by the people with the greatest veneration, as one who had attained *siddhi* (supernatural powers and perfections.)

Being reverently asked who he was, he gave his name as Virūpa. In Gauda he initiated the fortunate five in some of the secrets of his mystic cult. Many among them gained what is called the ordinary siddhi. In Bengal, during his stay of about four months, he remained accessible to the public; afterwards he disappeared, none knew to what place he went. Probably he proceeded to China from Bengal. This $\bar{A}c\bar{a}rya$ (religious teacher) was called $\bar{Q}r\bar{\imath}$ Dharma-pāla. He was not the same as Sthavira Dharma-pāla, the $Up\bar{a}dhy\bar{a}ya$ of Nālanda.

His disciple was Kāla Virūpa, or Virūpa, the black, born of Brāhmaṇ parents in Oḍiyana, in the West. The Brāhmaṇ Astrologers predicted that he would be guilty of the commission of the most heinous crimes. At the age of seven he, being turned out of his home, that he might not commit the crimes, wandered from place to place for many years.

His mother, too, after the death of her husband, father-in-law and mother-in-law, became homeless and destitute. She wandered from place to place, till, arriving in Orissa, she became a wine-seller. Her son Kāla also happened to arrive at the same place, and during the night came to her house. Not knowing that she was his mother, while under the influence of wine, he committed one of the four great sins that was predicted of him. Then being very thirsty he drank some beer, mistaking it for water, from an earthen mug. His thirst remaining still unquenched he grew furious with rage, and threw the vessel outside. It struck the head of a calf and killed the little creature. Hearing the dying cry of the calf he came out of the house, and with a view to conceal the act he rolled it down towards the lane, and thereby crushed an old Brāhman that happened to pass by.

In the morning he found that the wine-selling woman was his mother, and that in one night he had committed all the four great crimes that were predicted of him, and which were the most heinous among the sixteen great sins mentioned in the Vēdas as destroying Brāhmanhood.

Reflecting on the gravity of his sins, he became very penitent and fled for his life and in order to perform penance, from Orissa. He made pilgrimages to almost all the sacred places of the Brāhmans and the Buddhists. But being told that his purification was not complete, he proceeded to the country of Kōŋkana to meet the great Buddhist sage of Jalandharī, then residing there. The sage gave him a mystic Mantra to propitiate the Tāntrik deity Vajra-yōginī, and told him that thereby he

¹ In Tib. Chaug-htshoù-ma, a woman that sells wine, generally a prostitute.

^{2 1.} Drinking wine in a prostitute's place.
2. Incest with his mother.
3. Killing a cow (calf).
4. Killing a Brāhman.

could purify himself of his sins, should he daily repeat it standing in the Kōŋkana river, only keeping his head above the surface of the water. He accordingly did this for a period of six months, without perceiving any signs of success. At length, in a fit of rage he cast away the rosary on which he used to count his daily recitations of the *Mantra*.

His Guru advised him to persevere in the work of penance, as it was sure that he would soon obtain his object. For seven days he performed the penance, with perfect concentration of the mind, and in the early morning of the eighth day, the goddess Vajra-yogini, in the shape of a pretty. little girl, appeared before him. She said 'Why have you come to die in this country of Könkana after crossing 800 arms of the sea and 900 rivers?' He reverently replied: 'Ai māta Vajra-yōginī, Tērē Saranē!' O, mother Vajra-yōginī, I have to come to take refuge in thee! Hearing this she touched the crown of his head with her hand and said, 'Go thou to the great sage Virupa who has performed a profound Samādhi. He has been spiritually connected by the chain of Karma with you for several births. He is now in the Mahāraṭṭha country.' So saying she disappeared. At that time Virupa, wearing a cap made of a human skull had returned thither after visiting almost all the sacred cemeteries of India and acquiring the Mahāmudrā siddhi. He had become a great Tāntrik, having acquired supernatural powers by the practice of the adept secret cult. Kāla became his pupil and under his guidance gained siddhi by propitiating the goddess Vajra-varāhī, who is also called Vajra-yōginī.

The chief disciple of Kāla Virāpal was called Dom Virāpa Hēruka. Dom He was in fact a Rāja of Tripurā (Tippera), which is a country in the eastern direction of Bāŋgālā. When Ācārya Kāla Virūpa visited Tripurā, the Rāja became greatly impressed with his teaching. He wished to be initiated in the mystic cult of the Tantriks. The sage was greatly pleased with his royal pupil and made him an adept in his mystic art. The Raja for a long time meditated on the subject of his propitiation, having always in view his Guru, and thereby acquired the preliminary stage of siddhi. When he perceived that the time of testing his spiritual capabilities had arrived, he heard a prophecy that the female energy (cakti) of his spiritual union was in the person of Padmāvatī, a maiden of the Dom caste. Accordingly he took her as his helpmate for gaining of the perfection in the Tantrik cult. The ministers, chiefs, and all the subjects of the kingdom repudiated this conduct of the Rājā and ultimately were obliged to cast him out, both from society and royalty. The Raja with his Dom mistress left Tripura and went to a jungle in the neighbouring country to practise the Tantrik cult in solitude. He became a great adept in the mystic science by keeping in his vows. Afterwards he visited many other places. He became known as Dom Rāja or Dom Ācārya. The term Dom signifies one of very low caste. A Dom lives out-Dom side the city. He kills fish, birds, and wild animals, and subsists on them.

1 According to some Tibetan writers this Virupa was a Charmakāra by birth, but they have no authority to support the assertion. V. Tax. 11 170.192

He does not sell meat. He sings and dances (prob. professionally). He sells grass and fruits, &c. He carries on more than one low profession. Ācārya was not himself a Dom, but his wife being a Domnī, he was called Dom (Tib. Dom-pa) which means one having a Dom wife. This Dom Ācārya acquired many supernatural powers and did immense service to the people of Bengal and to Tripurā. Less than six years after his initiation into the mysteries of the Tantras, he visited other countries and made pilgrimages.

During his absence from Tripurā a great many calamities befel the people. Famine appeared and epidemics raged in the country. The court astrologer said that the distress and the troubles of the country were due to the banishment of the good Rājā on account of his religious opinions. Accordingly he was invited to revisit his country. The people received him as a Siddha (Saint), and bowed down to his feet in veneration and received his benediction. He preached the Tantrik doctrine of Buddhism called Dharma to them, and obtained numerous followers. Many among them became siddhas too.

He was then invited to the country of Rādha, called Rāra in the common language of the people. The Rājā of that country was a bigoted follower of the Brāhmans, but seeing the supernatural powers of the Dom Ācārya and his goodness and learning, he became changed in his views. Henceforth the Dharma Buddhism in its Tantrik phase became greatly honoured and followed by the people of Bengal and Radha and Tippera. By the worship of the Dharma is meant that of the Buddhist deities such as Vajra-yōginī or -varāhī, Vajra-bhairava (that is the Kṣētra-pāla), 1 Vajra-dākinī, the Nātha, in Tibetan called Gon-po, &c.

In fact in the latter days of Buddhism the Dik-pāla, Dharma-pāla and other fancied spirit-protectors of Buddhism became the object of worship, to the exclusion of the Buddhas and the Bodhisattyas.

1 Kṣētra, i.e., Buddha-kṣētra.